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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

FATAH'S ABU SHARAR ATTACKS JORDAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARD PLO

LD191547 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 17 Sep 80 p 11

[AL-WATAN report: "Abu Sharar to AL-WATAN: 'Jordanian Move To Cancel PLO's Role'"]

[Text] Rome--Fatah Central Committee member Majid Abu Sharar has accused Jordan of making enormous financial gains since the Baghdad summit conference which allocated \$1.25 billion for Jordan's steadfastness. In a press statement to AL-WATAN, Abu Sharar said: "Jordan has done nothing to confront Israel during all these years." He added that Jordan, through the joint Jordanian-Palestinian committee for consolidating steadfastness in the occupied territories, has gained a great deal but lost nothing and has participated in managing the affairs of our people in the occupied territories and expanded the pro-Jordanian front.

The Palestinian official pointed out that "Jordan has recently begun to present itself as representative of the Palestinian people alongside the PLO."

He said: "We can now say that we are in an opposed position." Abu Sharar expects this contradiction between the [Palestinian] resistance and Jordan to explode in the next few months.

He added: "We are now gathering information on Jordan's diplomatic moves in Europe, America and the Arab area. We have evidence proving that the contacts that have taken place center on cancelling PLO's role as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

CSO: 4802

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

IRAQI-SOVIET TREATY--A spokesman for the Iraqi Embassy in Kuwait has denied a report published yesterday by AL-QABAS that Moscow expects Iraq to annul the Iraqi-Soviet friendship treaty. The press attache in the Iraqi Embassy in Kuwait, Harith Taqah, said: The press department has confirmed from high official sources that the friendship and cooperation relations with the Soviet Union are proceeding in a very normal manner. [Text] [GF301124 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 29 Sep 80 p 1]

CSO: 4802

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN ISLAMIC WORLD SEEN AS MENACE

Tripoli AL-ZAHAF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 30 Jun 80 pp 16-17, 11

[Article by Mukhtar Sawisi: "The Voice of Islam Must Resound; Serious Colonialist Challenges Seek the Destruction of Islam; Islam Is Equality and Destruction of Class Structure; Islam Is Historic, Cultural Message Based on Inspired Book"]

[Text] When Islam dawned on the Arabian Peninsula, when it spread over the horizon and expanded to the farthest countries of the earth, the age of ignorance and paganism which used to control all of humanity vanished. Islam was neither an unexpected incident nor a reform movement. It was rather a historic, cultural message based on a divinely inspired book sent to God's noble prophet who was the guiding light for humanity. People found in him their ultimate salvation from slavery, oppression, tyranny and the control of idols which do not benefit those who worship them and ask them support or protection from danger.

Islam was a revolution against polytheism, against ignorance, against a preoccupation with vice and against floundering in murky darkness. Islam was a radical revolution that changed the face of the universe which had been steeped in corruption, error and the consecration of material idols carved by human hands from different materials in the shape of dolls. When the light of Islam dawned and illuminated the universe, the unfair relationships established by a small group of pre-Islamic noblemen to serve their interests and enslave humanity changed.

Islam came to undo tyrannical relations, establish foundations of equality and justice, and assure the human being of freedom in a free and happy society.

Islam has been a universal appeal to the entire world for the welfare and deliverance of all of humanity without exception from all kinds of injustice and tyranny. God Almighty spoke to His noble prophet and said, "We have sent you forth as a blessing to mankind" [The Prophets: 107].

The law of Moslems is the Holy Koran from which no evil can come. God Almighty said in His beloved book: "Believers, obey Allah and the Prophet

when he calls you to that which gives you life" [The Spoils: 24]. He also says, "Allah is the patron of the faithful. He leads them from darkness to light" [The Cow: 257].

"This path of mine is straight. Follow it and do not follow other paths, for they will lead you astray." [Cattle: 153]. Islam is the religion of truth and welfare for all; and it is the religion of deliverance from the yoke of slavery. It is also the religion of man's liberation from the gloom of darkness; it brings him out into the light of equality, justice and the paths of righteousness and welfare where he can enjoy worshipping the one and only God.

The Arab and Islamic nation fell prey to the conspiracies of western imperialism and racist Zionism when it neglected Islam. These conspiracies were mixed with hatred, malice and intrigues against Islam. Their purpose was to weaken Moslems, to break their power and misrepresent the Islamic Arab character. We cannot fail to see the state of weakness and submissiveness which the Arab and Islamic nation is in today as a result of the western colonialist intellectual invasion which began to act on and extend its influence through the body of the Arab and Islamic world.

We are not unmindful of the efforts that have been made to abort and to exterminate Islamic thought through the missionary expeditions that came to the Arab world from the west many ages ago to pave the way for intellectual colonialism and to establish the reactionary bases for this colonialism. At first these expeditions came under the guise of missions whose outside appearance was meant to conceal their reality. But they soon expanded their activities and led armies of crusaders to the land of Islam. Their purpose was to destroy Islamic thought, obliterate the features of Islamic culture, take over the holy places of Islam, and turn them into centers for spreading Christianity by various ways and means, such as the establishment of hospitals, societies, and Christian schools and universities to teach Christianity to the residents of any area where Christians may land. These Christian missionary establishments pledged protection and care to all those who joined them, were attracted to them, or enticed by them.

Some of those who joined these organizations were sent to study in Europe. As soon as they returned to their home countries, they were nominated to leadership positions for the purpose of gaining control over these countries. Yesterday, Jerusalem fell, and until this moment it remains defiled by Zionism. Today, Lebanon is being subjected to the same conspiracy: Christians are playing a major role in this conspiracy as intermediaries. They are doing so to pave the way for the Zionist, colonialist attack, and for the fall of Lebanon into the grip of Zionist colonialism.

Some Arab countries may be subjected to the same conspiracy in the future, especially under these critical circumstances which the Arab and Islamic nation is experiencing wherein the Islamic religion is being aborted and destroyed. We have sensed the hatred and the religious fanaticism of the

Christians. It is evident to all through the vile conspiracy being perpetrated against the Arab and Islamic nation by international imperialism and Zionism, with the assistance of their reactionary allies and all the malicious forces which are trying to finesse their conspiratorial designs under the pretext of protecting Islam.

Unless the Arab and Islamic nation resists, unless it intensifies its efforts to foil the conspiracies that are being perpetrated against it, the final result will be the irreversible elimination of Islam and Islamic culture. Afterwards, God forbid, Islam will be no more than a passing memory which future generations would read about.

We want to take this opportunity to shed light on the Society for Islamic Missionary Activity. We want to know the extent of its efforts and activities in spreading the Islamic message and opposing the attempts that are being made against Islam for the purpose of aborting it.

The Goals of the Society

The goals of the Society for Islamic Missionary Activity are to spread the Islamic message all over the world by all possible means, but especially as follows:

- * The Holy Koran is to be made known, and an effort is to be made to have it taught, memorized and disseminated by all means.
- * The holy tradition of the prophet is to be made known, and the lofty principles of the prophet's life, may God bless him, are to be brought to light.
- * Islam is to be presented in a manner that encompasses all the aspects of its faith, its ethics, its rites of worship and its dealings. Such a presentation is to be easy and free of distorted notions, dialectics and interpretations that are foreign to the essence of Islam.
- * Islam is to be interpreted in a manner that stays in step with all the branches of human science and learning.
- * An effort is to be made to prepare missionaries who would carry out the duty of Islamic missionary activity.
- * Periodicals, magazines, Islamic encyclopedias and books are to be prepared and published to present the principles and instructions of Islam; to present the tradition of the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation; and [to present] the values of Islamic civilization. An effort is to be made to have them translated into all languages.
- * Meetings for Moslem students and young people are to be organized for the purpose of making Islam known and making an effort to spread the Islamic message.

* Religious and scientific agencies and organizations are to be contacted so as to achieve the dissemination of the Islamic message.

* The Arabic language is to be disseminated by all means because it is the language of the Holy Koran. All the Islamic countries are to be requested to make Arabic the official language and to teach it in all the stages of education.

* Islamic countries are to be urged to make the Koran the law of a Moslem society and to amend their laws so as to make them consistent with the principles of Islam.

* The board of the society, under the supervision of its secretary, manages the affairs of the society, conducts its business and directs its activities so as to achieve its goals. It makes the decisions that are necessary to achieve the purpose for which the society was created in accordance with the provisions of its bylaws and the rulings that are issued accordingly. It has the specific [authority] to do the following:

* The board is to set up the programs that are necessary for Islamic missionary activity in the different countries in accordance with the conditions and the circumstances of each country.

* It is to establish branches for the society in the other countries.

* It is to convene Islamic conferences and debates.

* It is to approve the society's proposed budget and its [annual] financial statement, and it is to develop its resources in legitimate Islamic ways.

* It is to establish the administrative, professional and financial rulings that are necessary for organizing the business of the society.

* It is to study the reports that are submitted by the branches of the society; it is to evaluate and to follow up on the business of these branches; and it is to issue instructions that are necessary for them.

* It is to accept contributions, donations and bequests, and it is to manage the religious endowment that is offered to the society.

* It is to write rules to regulate financial and material assistance grants as well as other assistance within the purposes of the society.

* It is to hire employees; to approve lending and delegating them [to other institutions] and determining their areas of specialization.

To achieve the objectives of the Society for Islamic Missionary Activity, this society spares no effort in championing and elevating Islam. To do so it pursues several courses: either it organizes practical or educational programs or it attends international gatherings and participates in Islamic

and international meetings. During the 11th session of the Islamic Conference in Islamabad, the secretary of the society affirmed several essential and significant points in his address to the conference.

Some of these points were brought up in the following quotation from his address: "The Society for Islamic Missionary Activity came into existence with the emergence of the glorious First of September Revolution which was an Islamic revolution. It raised the banner of Islam and it worked for victory for Moslems in all the corners of the world. It is a society that undertakes popular action to advocate the religion of the One and Only God and to strive by all means to make the Holy Koran the law for Islamic societies. The Society for Islamic Missionary Activity did perform its duty in many of the Islamic and non-Islamic countries. It had hundreds of missionaries who invited people to [adopt] Islam. Their efforts, thank God, had their effect, and hundreds of people adopted Islam. The society's projects and programs--which were prepared and written by scientists and professionals from many Islamic countries--achieved great results. Numerous mosques, Islamic centers, schools for the Koran, vocational institutes, academic colleges, hospitals, university libraries and students' homes have been established. Many Moslems' sons have been given scholarships at intermediate institutes and at the university for undergraduate and graduate work. The society has distributed the Holy Koran in numerous interpretations of its noble meanings. It is cooperating with various Islamic countries and societies for the sake of Islam and for giving Moslems power on earth."

The Necessity of Collecting and Amassing All the Factors of Support

In his address, the secretary of the society called upon Moslems to be solicitous about Islamic missionary activity. He said: "In the context of this conference, we must remind ourselves of the necessity of being solicitous about Islamic missionary activity on the broadest [possible] scale. All the necessary organizational, human and material factors that are necessary for achieving the major cultural objectives which are enjoined upon us by the principles of Islam are to be collected and amassed.

"In the recent past Islamic missionary activity was disdained, ridiculed and ignored by enemies and friends alike; it was even ignored by the Moslems themselves. This [attitude] used to constitute a major obstacle to the return to God's true religion. Due to the influence of imported cultures Moslems used to view Islam in the same way they viewed other religions, considering it at best to be a religion that focused on the purely spiritual aspect of man. [In their view] the age had gone beyond that view [and espoused] modern philosophies and ideologies [that had come] from the west and the east."

In his address, the secretary of the society also warned against the wave of serious colonialist challenges that seek the destruction of Islam.

"Today, after the truth has become plain, after contemporary Islamic revolutions that had proposed Islam as an all-encompassing way of life

have gained victory, and after man has risen in rebellion to realize his liberation and find the right path, Islamic missionary activity finds itself facing a new obstacle from the enemies of Islam who want to involve Islam in marginal problems. They want Moslems to escape from life to a kind of monasticism they devised. As has been their custom they began to establish centers for scientific, political, psychological and social research which concerned themselves with studying the Moslem mentality, the makeup of Islamic societies and the content of the Islamic faith for the purpose of subjugating Moslems and changing the directions of the Islamic revolution which is now attracting the Moslem masses everywhere. They want to make all this vanish in temporary reform programs that dwindle away in the tumult of western materialistic thought.

"The matter went beyond that too to a race between the enemies of Islam in the west and in the east to reduce the Moslems to servitude in the name of Islam so as to achieve their own objectives, and especially with regard to the plans of the superpowers. All these plans are in agreement about conspiring against this religion and extinguishing 'the light of Allah with their mouth: but Allah seeks only to perfect His light, though the infidels abhor it' [Repentance: 32].

"Islam is a message [that advocates] truth, justice, freedom, welfare and equality. It is against injustice, fraud, persecution and oppression. It is a religion for all people and not a religion for those who own property, who are wealthy and who are masters. Nor is it the religion of the aristocracy in any of its forms; it is the religion of the masses wherever they may be.

"In advocating Islam we must recognize that if we do not face the real problems; if we do not recognize the suffering of those who are deprived, those who are treated unfairly and those who are helpless; and if we do not help [all those] rebel against injustice and deprivation so they can achieve justice, equality and freedom in its noblest sense, we would be like someone who spoke a language that people in this or in any other age did not understand. We would not have the ability to compete with other missionary movements and ideological messages that are making attempts to solve the problems which people are facing.

"In this age we have failed to become aware of these serious facts which the tradition of the prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, indicates he had an interest in and found solutions for."

Islam Is a Permanent Revolution on the Road to God

The secretary of the society also affirmed in his statement that every Moslem is to heed the Holy Koran and the principles of Islam.

"Islam is a permanent revolution on the road that leads to God; it is incompatible with tutelage by any creature whatsoever. In this sense Islam is the natural right of every human being, and, consequently, we

must allow each individual to devote himself to the Holy Koran so he would become familiar with that immortal divinely inspired book which is the last message from heaven. [We must allow] every person to live according to its rules and principles. Everything that Moslems may do will be of secondary [importance] if they do not succeed in making every Moslem aware of the message and the principles of the Holy Koran. It is then that religious, political, economic and social tutelage is repudiated. In this case a Moslem and a Moslem society become models for free men and for free societies, that are controlled by no man, government or institution. Homage then is due to the one and only God; all the idols would fall; and justice would be achieved." It is the fact that they have strayed from the Koran and adhered to changes which reflect individual interpretations of the Koran that are governed by specific historical, geographical and social circumstances that separated Moslems from each other in the past and led to their backwardness, their disunity and their partisanship. Today, the Koran is our route to genuine deliverance in a happy Islamic society."

The Superpowers and The Extension of Influence

The secretary of the Society for Islamic Missionary Activity also referred in his address to the superpowers that are engaged in a fierce struggle against Islam. He said it was necessary to confront them so as to oppose the dangers that are threatening Islam from every direction. These dangers seek to obliterate the religion, the culture and the principles of Islam. He said:

"Many people spoke in this conference about the major dangers that are threatening the Islamic world from every direction. The real weapon [that can be used] to confront these major challenges is a deep-rooted faith in the principles of Islam and an insistence on applying the teachings of the Holy Koran and making it the law and the way of life for Moslems. Afterwards [it is necessary to] become acquainted with the sources of these dangers and to confront them with force that emanates from an enlightened, awareness of self sharpened by a determination to fight in a holy war.

"With regard to the foreign sources of these dangers, we find that the superpowers are competing with each other to spread their influence on numerous Islamic countries and to interfere in their affairs and firmly establish the foreign occupation of these countries. Palestine has been the foremost of these countries; instead of the Moslems succeeding in liberating it, Egypt was lost after it. The enemies of Islam who usurped Egypt after succeeding in occupying Palestine were victorious. We now hear [expressions of] diplomatic enthusiasm in favor of making the occupation authorities in Palestine change their decision about declaring Jerusalem their capital. We are all forgetting that the first head of state to visit this occupied city was the Egyptian president who sold his nation's cause. Instead of taking the economic measures that are necessary against those who were on our side one day and then sold themselves to the enemy, we are now imploring those enemies to give up gains they had won by force."

The Pope and the Dark Continent

The programs of Christians and missionaries in some African countries--and Central America is among them--have been successful. These countries were occupied again by the Christian forces of the west after the Islamic efforts that were made by al-Jamahiriyah succeeded in the Islamic missionary activity, and those countries became Islamic.

The pope is leaving the dark continent these days. He is pleased with the obvious victory [that was achieved] after Moslems failed to champion their brothers in some corners of the Islamic world. The results have always been more villages, camps and hundreds of thousands of poor, needy and sick people who became a burden to international relief organizations while we begrudge them even the approval of forming an Islamic red crescent that would take pity on them and show them mercy and extend that pity and mercy to the needy everywhere.

As a result of deep psychological influences that developed from the ages of oppression and corruption, Moslems have become accustomed to taking matters lightly when matters are serious. They accept losing behind when it is time to take action. When disaster befalls one of their homelands, they vie with each other in mourning the loss; they hold conferences to study the reasons for the loss; and they [also] excel in eulogizing that country which suffered the loss.

Today, the only thing Moslems have to do is to overcome this delusion that is oppressing their hearts and rebel against their reality so as to change it. "Allah does not change a people's lot unless they change what is in their hearts" [Tumbar: 11]. This change will not take place unless it stems from them and from their own will. It is not to be a change effected in response to what is dictated to them by their enemies who are now expounding upon Islam to conquer it.

The First Project of the Islamic Mission Society

At a time when mass, periodicals, printed publications and radio and television broadcasts are considered principal means for promoting the Islamic message, the Muslim missionary is considered to be of major significance. He is the pivot upon which Islamic missionary activity rests. The missionary represents the direct and continuous link which is based on direct contact and on a one on one relationship that is undoubtedly influential and greatly effective in spreading Islam. Along the lines of interest in [these] missions a conference is being convened in Libya from 18/8/80 to 11/8/80. It is a meeting to which all the missionaries of the Islamic Mission Society are invited--and there are about 500 missionaries--to achieve the following objectives:

1. To stimulate Islamic activity and to give it a new impetus.
2. To strengthen intellectual ties with the missionaries.

1. To strengthen relations among the missionaries themselves and to manifest the principle of getting acquainted among them.

2. To find out about their psychological preparedness, their cultural capabilities and the extent of their commitment to adhere to the course of missionary activity and also to find out about the effect they had on Moslems and others around them.

3. To find out about the obstacles and the problems that are facing the missionaries and to consider proposals to overcome them.

4. To utilize the missionaries in finding out about the reality they are experiencing and in finding out about the economic and social condition of Moslems and the extent of their awareness of the cause of Islam and the dangers that surround it. These dangers are manifested in the missionary and Zionist movements as well as in other destructive movements.

5. To enable the missionaries to find out about the new Libyan reality which is based on Islam; which succeeded in realizing social justice and freedom through socialism; and which achieved freedom by giving people authority on the basis of the fact that (freedom and justice) are the foundations of Islamic life, and especially to enable the missionaries to find out about the doubts that are aroused by the enemies of Islam against the Islamic experiment in Libya.

6. To make them aware of the necessity of advocating true Islam from its primary source which is the Holy Koran that was sent by God to Muhammad, may God bless him and grant him salvation. Their missionary activity is to be quite remote from narrow, prejudicial sectarianism.

These goals could be achieved by means of [the following]:

- * Lectures.

- * Discussion meetings.

- * Debates.

- * Personal visits.

- * To attend some popular celebrations that are held to commemorate the anniversary of the great 1st of September Revolution in some areas of al-Jamahiriyah.

- * To make field visits to the locations of the Libyan people's accomplishments.

The lectures at this meeting should be around the following subjects:

- * The Islamic message and the attributes of a missionary.

- * The goals of missionary activity and oriental studies.
- * The Christian penetration of Africa and Asia.
- * The reality of Moslems and their path to deliverance.
- * The Koran as the law of society.
- * Islam and solving economic problems.
- * Islam, the religion of freedom.
- * Zionism and its danger to religions.
- * The third universal theory.
- * The 1st of September Revolution as an Islamic Revolution.
- * The role of the 1st of September Revolution in spreading Islam.
- * The posture of the 1st of September Revolution vis a vis the liberation movements in the world.
- * The ideal course for Islamic missionary work.
- * Oratory and its role in spreading Islam.

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KURDISTAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' ORGANIZATION CALLS FOR ARMED STRUGGLE

Stockholm RIZGARIYA KURDISTAN in Turkish Jan-Feb 80, pp 16-19

Text From the Kurdistan Revolutionary Workers' Organization to peasants and rural workers and our brothers and sisters in the south.

When the Iranian people initiated the revolution to end dictatorship, the peasants did not contribute much to the struggle. They said, "If the Shah goes, feudalism and the old ways will come back."

Now we see that the feudal lords are surrounding Kurdistan on all sides. They are buying guns, attacking the peasants and crushing them, taking everything they have. In other words, what our brothers said has come true.

This shows us the wisdom of the peasant. Another reason the peasants did not join the struggle was that they did not know what would happen to their own world or who would come out the winner. But if they had joined the struggle in the beginning to prevent the advance of the feudal lords, they would not have been able to hold up their heads now.

Measures must be taken before the calamity comes. We know that the wild boar is nasty and dangerous and must be prevented from wreaking havoc. Or, when black clouds start gathering in the sky, the tobacco farmers cover their tobacco before the rain begins.

Therefore, as we said, the peasant did not join the struggle, because to an extent they did not know what would happen to their own world. To be more precise: There were no political parties to talk with the peasants or to organize them. The existing parties, while talking nonsense to the peasants, at the same time rose and fell with the landlords and feudalists and supported them. And still support them.

It is our duty for our peasant brothers and workers to draw their attention to the situation, especially the situation in the rural areas, in order to defend them against all pressures, including the new forms.

We hope that the following will summarize developments in the rural areas.

On What Landlords and Feudalists Do and Efforts of Peasants

1. Two weeks ago, Husen Agha from Bize and his brother Qarani Agha and their collaborators attacked Ballan villagers. They bound some of the villagers, tied ropes around their necks and dragged them out of the village. Later they demanded taxes for the past 15 years from the villagers. The Free Revolutionary Council (pro-government, translator's note) turned a deaf ear and did nothing about the situation.

2. In Suma Village in the Bradost region near Urmiye, collaborationist feudal lords like Jihangir Khan robbed some of the peasants and demanded extortion (rent) from others.

3. Jander Agha, the owner of Sard Awa Village in the Bokeran region, surrounded the village mosque and dispersed by force of arms the villagers who had assembled to form a Village Revolutionary Committee.

4. After the Shah fled and the government led by the traitor Bakhtiyar fell, Abdullah Khan from Hawraman, landlord of Dizli, sent a letter to his people saying, "The law is now dead." He later attacked the villagers and tried to seize their expansive lands.

5. The magistrate of Geozeh Kereh Village in the Merivan region seized the villagers' lands by force.

6. Ahmed Agha of Goleh Village terrorized the villagers for the purpose of intimidating the people.

7. In the vicinity of Kermanshah, former collaborators of Kamyaran began a robbery campaign in the surrounding villages in order to intimidate the people. They would plunder a different village every night. As a result of this thievery and plunder, the peasants of Kani Lili left their village and migrated to other regions. Other villagers nearby took their rugs and all the household furnishings left behind to the homes of their relatives living in Kermanshah and Sanandach. Some villagers said, "Even the Shah's regime was better than it is now."

Now Let Us Talk About What the Peasants Are Doing

1. The people of the Kamyaran region rounded up guns again and decided to get organized to join forces. For example, when armed robbers tried to plunder Kani Isa Village, the people of Uzmaneh Village with their young men and brave youths ran to the aid of their neighbors and turned back the attackers.

2. In the Sardesht region, the Alwatan gendarmerie station commander had obtained weapons for Selim Agha of Alwatan. But the villagers took measures against this and Selim Agha was left without guns.

3. In the Kamyaran region, residents of Yaminan Khwaru drove the government's rent men out of the region last year. These forces and robbers together attacked Yamani Village several nights ago, cut down and burned the trees in three fruit orchards; the villagers then opened fire on them, forcing them to abandon the village.

4. Farmers in Bluanwa and Dedana near Sanandach seized the private farms which had been wrenched from them earlier by cruel feudal lords and began plowing them.

5. Landless farmers from 12 villages in the Boker area demanded equal distribution of the farms of large landholders and arranged a demonstration in Boker on 22-12-57 (12 March 1979, translator's note).

6. Khelil Melichi Agha, the owner of Kani Sur Village in the Sakiz area, came to Rahim Gujyag Village two years ago with fifty tractors and seized the land and some of the pasture of a dozen or so farmers.

These families -- a total of nine families -- are now going to Sakiz to make the situation known and to get the support of the people. One of these of our brothers who was robbed said, "Our land is our life. We will definitely get it back and plant crops again. If only we had a few guns. We will not hesitate to give our lives for this purpose."

7. Kamyar, grandson of Hama Rashid Khan and long-time henchman of Barzari, has begun raiding in the area around Saran Village in Baneh region. With his armed gang, he has taken 20,000 tumans (Iranian monetary unit, translator's note) by force from workers. The Baneh Khwaru villagers have bought guns and are defending themselves every day against this traitorous gang. They were the ones who fled and took refuge in the police station. As for the armed thieves of these traitors, they are not brave enough to approach us.

The following announcement was made by the Merivan Peasant Union:

"In the name of God the Almighty -- on 16 Ehsand 1357 (5 March 1979, translator's note), each of the following villages sent two representatives to attend a meeting held in Na-Na Village. The names of these villages are: Na-Na, Chor, Almaneh, Hajmneh, Merg. Sarinmar, Daga Shekan, Goze Koreh, Darseran, Gagel.

"The text of the proposals and decisions of the meeting is as follows:

"1. We invite the farmers of Merivan and other regions to unite, as other citizens have done, to work toward ensuring mutual assistance and solidarity in harmony with all other classes and under the flag of Islam.

"2. Since most of the people of Merivan are agricultural workers and since this class is the most oppressed class as compared to other classes, we will unite, we will recognize our enemy and we will be ready to answer his attacks.

"3. We all know that the remnants of the former shah's clique are trying to infiltrate us and destroy our unifying bonds. We will be vigilant and foil their plans.

"4. Valued farmer! At this moment as we wish to unite, our enemies are trying to make us out to be 'communists.' They have spread this slander among the people to prevent our union. But this is not important. It is like the dog howling at the full moon. We will expand our union under the banner of Islam.

"5. Wherever a village is oppressed, we will gather there. We will defend it without fear of sacrifice.

"6. We will stand against all rules imposed by the landlords.

"7. We will overcome those who speak against our religion or those who defend ideas opposed to our religion.

"8. The mullah we want is the one who stands by the peasant, who speaks the truth and does not walk behind the cruel landlords.

"9. The one who should set prices on grain and other produce is the peasant. He must accomplish this in his own way.

"10. We, the peasants, are defenders of our nation. We will never permit foreign tyrants to enter our nation.

"Long live the Merivan Peasant Union! Death to the tyrants and enemies of the peasants!"

Two things are clear from these reports. First, the feudal lords and reactionaries are armed and they are suppressing the peasants. But on the other hand, our peasant brothers are refusing to remain silent in the traditional way and are defending their own rights. If the peasants do not take their own rights themselves, it does not matter what kind of government comes to power, it will not give the peasants their rights. We hope that the new government which has come to power in Kurdistan will deliver the rights of the peasants first of all; that is, that it will lift all pressures on the peasants. These duties may be listed as follows:

1. To help the peasants get rid of the feudal lords and armed robbers. If the government really wishes to help the peasants, it will arm them and help them disarm the bloodsuckers and it will try all of those who have oppressed the peasants.

2. To eliminate rents and interest payments on debts and, in the case of small landowners, the government must take the burden of these payments upon itself.

3. To nationalize the land, water and resources in the possession of large landowners by allowing them to hold no more than the average amount going to the peasant. Increased amounts must be distributed free of charge to the peasants who are without land or whose holdings are very small.
4. All debts and interest debts owed by peasants to banks, cooperative companies and lenders must be cancelled.
5. To raise the prices of grains, other agricultural produce and farm products (oil, livestock, etc.) with the intention of preventing the peasants from going to the cities to seek jobs and encouraging them to work on their own land.
6. At the same time, prices of tea, sugar and other commodities must be reduced.
7. When there is a question of peasant children's performing military service, they must be trained in Kurdistan and not forced to go to other regions.
8. To establish factories and farms in Kurdistan in order that Kurdish workers not be forced to move to distant regions in order to make a living. Kurdistan must be developed on a par with the other regions of Iran.
9. Village affairs must be directed by the farmers and no city authority must interfere in these affairs except by the full approval of the peasants. Also, regional council directors must be elected by the local people. Region administrators and multiregion general administrators must be elected by the local city and village people. Those involved with village weaving affairs must have the trust of the village people. Lawmaking bodies authorized by the councils in a region must be formed by the participation of representatives which the peasants elect according to their percentage of the population of the entire region. If, for example, 50 percent of a region's population consists of peasants, 50 percent of the representatives must be from the villages.
10. The language of education in the schools and higher education must be Kurdish. Official bodies in Kurdistan must use Kurdish as both the spoken and written language in administrative correspondence. The expenses of farmers' children who attend middle-level schools and university must be met by the government.
11. The government, in cooperation with the farmers, must provide the people the following resources: roads, schools, public baths, energy generating plants, water mains, public health organizations, clinics and medical centers.
12. To provide interest-free credit to the peasants for the development of agriculture and farming.

13. The Kurdish masses must have the right to determine their own destiny and to plan their lives for the future. This means that: Local government which will operate in Kurdish regions must be composed of Kurdish workers and must be supervised by them. Kurdish workers must live side by side with other workers of Iran, without inferior treatment of any kind, in fact, as brothers, not as master and servant as was once seen in relations between the communities.

Valued worker brothers! In the 13 items we have listed above, we have demanded that the new Iranian regime perform its duty vis-a-vis our farmer brothers and all Kurdish people. We have done this (demands presented to the government, translator's note) briefly and in summary. However, the farmers have gained the right (deserve, translator's note) more than this. Therefore, we will debate these demands and other demands which are the logical conclusion of these in broader detail in the future. And we will disseminate our views from person to person throughout Kurdistan. Also, we will cooperate with all groups and parties which support the workers and all of us will work together for the realization of our demands and to achieve our goals. It is the duty of all progressive and honorable groups to sacrifice and to struggle for the realization of workers' rights. We, like other world progressive and revolutionary forces, recognize the duty to submit to you our highest humanitarian sensibilities and to channel all our forces toward realization of your needs. Perhaps there may be those who tell us that your goals and purposes are a kind of idealism, but we say who could have imagined at this time last year that things could have changed in such an extraordinary fashion? We saw how the Shah's regime collapsed and how its grisly conformity was destroyed by the masses. The united front of the masses is capable of demolishing the filthy dungeons of the tyrants.

On the other hand, we know that "if we cannot survive the harsh winter, we will not see the fruit and flowers of spring in our gardens and orchards."

Workers,

Unite arm in arm in the city factories and on the farms.

Beloved worker brothers!

To achieve our goals, we must strive to the utmost and move forward immediately. While demanding fulfillment of our demands from the government on the one hand, at the same time we will marshal our forces to seize our rights on the other. The most urgent duties ahead which our revolutionary worker brothers have already begun are these:

1. To organize peasant units in every region in the spirit of the Merivan revolutionary peasants in order to defend all villages and all farmers.

2. Landless farmers are confronted -- more than anyone else -- by the excessive repression of the feudal lords. This is why they hate the feudal lords more than anyone else. It is their right (landless peasants, translator's note) to make the large feudal lands public property and use them for themselves and other landless farmers. It is their duty to support them (landless peasants, translator's note) in every way possible, to unite the others against the influence of the feudal lords and to encourage and persuade them to struggle beside their farmer brothers. This means that the only way to advance is to join with the landless peasants.

3. It seems that the enemies of the peasants are armed, so the peasants must be armed also in order to be prepared to defend themselves. We must demand that the city councils, the gendarmerie stations and the army barracks provide us weapons. Moreover, it is very important in fact that the peasants buy weapons whenever their strength is sufficient or, if the village residents prefer, they can buy weapons for their own self-defense.

4. Many of the city people, such as city workers, most of the teachers, professionals and shopkeepers, support the farmers and workers and are ready to work together with our organizations to help us.

5. Infiltration of peasant units and influence over them by collaborators will be prevented. Their kind are only trying to get into the units in order to be agents for the tyrants. The feudal lords and some reactionary, collaborationist mullahs have launched a formidable campaign to prevent the farmers from uniting and especially from uniting with the progressive forces in the cities, spreading such groundless rumors as "They are atheists and communists" and the like. But the wise and experienced worker will know by their deeds and actions who is friend and who is foe.

The tyrants cannot cover up their exploitation and cruelty with these lies and groundless rumors.

Long live the tillers of the soil and the landless peasants!

Victory belongs to the armed struggle of the peasants and landless peasants!

Down with feudal lords and lackeys!

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IRAN

ARMY REVAMP REGULATIONS, FALLAHI REVIEWS POSTURE

Bahonar on Reform Measures

Tehran SORH-C AZADEGAN in Persian 16 Sep 80 p 12

[Text] Hojjatoleslam Dr Mohammad Javad Bahonar, following the publication of the Revolutionary Council's report on the afternoon of the day before yesterday, participated in a press and radio/television interview. In answering the questions put to him by reporters, he talked about the procedures of the purge and the attempts to attract people to government employment as well as Iran's foreign policy, the activities of the Reconstruction Crusade and the Mostaz'afin Foundation, wage increases for workers, attracting unemployed manpower to cooperatives and the work of the Revolutionary Council for the benefit of the downtrodden people. He said: So far, in the area of education, thousands have been purged and 14,000 people have been retired. In the armed forces, first 7,997 people were purged, but later, after investigations, 829 were reinstated. And in other ministries, those who were purged or retired are as follows: In the Ministry of Justice, 312 Freemason and other judges; in the Ministry of Post, Telegraph, and Telephone, 2,000 people were retired and 600 purged; in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 798 out of 1,600 personnel were purged; in the Ministry of Energy, 600; in the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 800 were purged; in the Ministry of State, 491 were retired, 151 were purged, and 35 people were bought out.

Hojjatoleslam Bahonar said, in another part of his talk, that some of the standards for purging have not been clear and some individuals have been purged for no reason. Concerning the revamping and other undertakings in the armed forces, he said that the most important activities carried out in connection with the armed forces are in the 13 following areas:

1. A new office, the Office of Political Ideology, was established in the joint headquarters of the armed forces, which will work to raise the cultural level of the Islamic revolution and Islamic ideology within the armed forces.
2. The ranks of General and Lieutenant General were abolished.
3. The retirement of all chiefs of the armed forces.
4. Expansive purging within the armed forces.
5. Many acts of discrimination in the armed forces were stopped.
6. The use of privates as servants and physical punishment were abolished.
7. The standards for command were changed.
8. Islamic societies were formed in the armed forces.
9. Meetings for religious sermons have become common.
10. The monthly activities of the armed forces were changed to harmonize with the Islamic revolution.
11. All arms and colonial contracts were nullified.
12. An office for industrial research was created within the Ministry of Defense.
13. A plan for a people's army with an ideology.

Premium Pay Rules

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 16 Sep 80 p 12

[Text] Premium pay and benefits for military personnel of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran were determined and announced to the Ministry of National Defense of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In accordance with the legislative bill, the premium pay for military personnel eligible according to the employment law of the armed forces, although there has been no change in the wage charts, is as follows:

Enlisted Soldier, Gendarme, and Policeman Third Class, 12,500 rials per month; enlisted Private First Class, Gendarme First Class, and Policeman Second Class: 12,700 rials per month;

Corporal and Policeman First Class: 13,850 rials per month; Sergeant Third Class and Police Officer Third Class: 16,000 rials; Sergeant Second Class and Police Officer Second Class: 17,500 rials; Sergeant First Class and Police Officer First Class: 18,000; WOJG: 20,000 rials; CWO: 22,000 rials.

In accordance with this legislative bill, which was approved as a single article in one of the last sessions of the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, there will be a 10 percent increase of the premium pay of other grades whose total monthly salary and benefits are less than 80,000 rials, provided that the total does not then exceed 80,000 rials.

Also, the premium pay of the groups of the above mentioned military grades who work in the offices of the central administration has been set at a rate of 10 percent less than the above mentioned figures. In addition, the premium pay of those persons who work in technical fields has been set at 5 percent less than the above figures.

The report states that the benefits and premium pay of those individuals who serve in areas of disturbance will be 10 percent and those serving in war zones 20 percent above the aforementioned premiums and benefits, when applicable.

Also, in accordance with the bill passed by the Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the amendment to Chart No 3, Article 1 of the wage and benefit law for the personnel of the armed forces is nullified, and ranking officers and the above mentioned will benefit from this legislative bill.

Also, it has been reported that in the legislative bill concerning the daily premium pay for personnel who participate in military activities within the country, following the approval of the Revolutionary Council of Iran, the phrase "to each ranking officer and pilot of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran" has been changed to: "to each of the personnel of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran."

In accordance with this legislative bill, all personnel of the armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran who participates in military activities inside the country will be paid for every day of their active participation on the basis of a wage factor of 9 in addition to the daily premium which they will receive.

The daily military action premium for a private will be calculated on a basis of one and one-half the wage factor. Also, no sum will be deducted from the premium pay for food and lodging. This law is to be implemented from 3/31/79 [1/1/80]. The kind and period of military action will be determined by the joint armed forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Observations of General Fallahi

Tehran KEYMAN in Persian 15 Sep 80 p. 16

[Interview with General Fallahi by Mahmud Hajrat]

[Excerpt] [Question] General Fallahi, why is the news of the skirmishes in the west of the country and along the Iraqi border not reported clearly and precisely; in other words, why are the facts always hidden? What is your response to this problem?

[Answer] The facts concerning the country's borders and the internal areas are conveyed. However, they are conveyed a little later. The reason is that at times, the problems are vague. Sometimes reports come from various areas. At the present time, we do not have a centralized information system to direct and supervise the information. At the same time, everybody and every organization in an area, whether responsible or not, immediately sends reports about border incidents or incidents this side of the border. As a result, collecting these reports, coordinating them, and receiving the true report is sometimes delayed a few days. The delay is partly due to the numerous centers who are not responsible and who know nothing about the problem but who send these reports, at times disturbing and confusing the public. Consequently, in order to clarify things for the public and to give them accurate news, we have to collect information for two or three days after an incident. The news must be recorded, evaluated, and interpreted; then, it should be translated into information. And there should be an information center from which we can give accurate news to the people. Of course, sometimes there are communication problems as well. For example, in the border regions, the brothers of the pasdaran, gendarmery, or military are scattered in groups along the border. At times, there are no real communication facilities for sending precise news. At the present time, we have these problems, but we do not intend--God forbid--to give incorrect news to the people. As I have mentioned, the alert conscience of the people refuses to accept inaccurate news.

[Question] General Fallahi, having in mind the six conspiracies discovered among the military thusfar, have you devised a system for strict control and prevention of probable future conspiracies?

[Answer] There are two ways to eliminate conspiracies. One is to neutralize a conspiracy; another is to find its roots and to take steps to eliminate the breeding ground for conspiracies. Neutralizing conspiracies is a temporary solution. It requires an extensive information system which at the present time the people of Iran will not accept, because of the bitter memories they have of the former military counter-intelligence system and of SAVAK. At the same time, the people of Iran believe that there should exist a people's informational organization. At the present time, conspiracies are mostly discovered by responsible, faithful military personnel who believe in the ideology. On the whole, these conspiracies are discovered from within the armed forces and then neutralized. In certain other instances, we have received outside help. But the most essential thing is to eliminate the breeding ground for conspiracies, which is partly the result of discrimination and inequality in the military. A series of steps has been taken to reorganize the armed forces, which has been done from within. Of course, this work requires sufficient time, because reorganization from within is a difficult task, which, when it is finished, will eliminate all breeding grounds for conspiracies and then we will not have to search to discover and neutralize them. Instead, this reorganization will be accomplished, and when it is instigated from within, and on the whole, existing inequalities are uprooted, there will be no excuse for conspiracies and we will not have to discover and neutralize them.

[Question] General Fallahi, it has been said that military spare parts are indirectly obtained from the United States. What do you have to say in this regard? In any case, since most of our military equipment is American made, what will you do to ensure that spare parts will be obtained?

[Answer] The first part of your question, that we receive our requirements from the United States, I deny and reject.

Since the victory of the revolution, we have not received any parts in any form directly or indirectly from the United States. But we have received a series of minor, small parts from free world markets and non-aligned countries, whose intentions are less exploitive, and that amount is insignificant. But what have we done? We have had somewhat of a stock from the previous regime, which had spent much of this

nation's money and had bought many spare parts which are readily available in storage. And these spare parts will be available for some time to come. Another area concerns those vehicles which, because of age and use, are unrepairable-- a problem which exists in all the armies of the world. We have used parts from unusable vehicles and have met our needs in this manner. Of course, I do not deny our material needs. But the spiritual needs of the military personnel are much stronger. That is to say, we must try to eliminate discrimination and inequality within the armed forces and have a truly ideologically Islamic, monotheistic people's army and attain a state of internal purity, where internal complexes are released and as a result our spirits are not merely not weakened but strengthened. But we have a number of difficulties concerning living and welfare facilities, the most important of which is housing. During the despised previous regime, several times there was talk of creating a collective residence for military personnel, but none of these plans were completed. The despised previous regime proved that it could not even afford to create a housing complex. As a result, in the military, too, certain housing complexes were started and at the present time, even though it has been 18 months since the victory of the revolution, they are still uncompleted. The problem that we have had is due to the fact that the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development had been responsible for the supervision of the completion of military buildings, which, during the last 18 months, has fallen into the clutches of bureaucracy. We went to the president, who was kind enough to transfer the supervision over to the military. Since a short time ago, we have begun work on the unfinished buildings. At the present time, however, 7 percent of the ground forces have military housing but 93 percent do not. In certain cases, the families of two ranking officers share one room in Dasht-e Azadegan. Building housing for the remaining 93 percent will require much money, which has not been allowed for in this year's budget. But, some funds have been put at our disposal to finish the incomplete buildings. When these unfinished buildings are completed, part of our problems will be solved. Recently, the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development has put 25 billion rials at the disposal of the Ministry of Defense to be given to the military through Sanah Bank. With this money, an organization has been created within the Ministry of Defense. But with my experience of 29 years in the service, I do not think that the military can do without using heavy equipment such as artillery, tanks, airplanes, and helicopters, although we are using similar equipment in our training, which has reduced the workload of such equipment to a certain extent. For example, instead of teaching the personnel to drive on the tanks, we use trucks.

And we have been successful to a certain extent. Some of the rapidly consumed parts are difficult to produce domestically. But if we get involved in a war, we must change the nature of the war. That is, it will be the nation who will fight, not merely the military. For this reason, a mobilization organization has been formed and the military supports the arming and training of the mobilization organization, which is that very army of 20 million. If there is a war in the region, and if this war is an extended one, we will seek help from these mobilized forces and all the people. And we will change the nature of war. That is, we will emphasize night battle. We have presently begun night training in order to prepare for night operations, to be safe from invading planes. We will also carry out an irregular war through the people and the army, that is, through preventive operations and disruptive operations. We will change the nature of war from its regular, geometrical form. And if the war lasts only a few months, we will have no problems concerning spare parts. On the other hand, if we cannot finish the work of the mobilization organization and if we are soon involved in a regional war where we have to use airplanes, war ships, tanks and artillery, we would certainly face difficulties concerning spare parts.

[Question] Can the problems between Iran and Iraq and the frequent border skirmishes only be solved militarily, or is it possible to resolve them through political and diplomatic channels?

[Answer] The Islamic Republic of Iran will not tolerate the interference of the Iraqi Ba'th government and it will not compromise with a government which is not genuine. If Iraq would not allow its borders to be crossed, for sure, we would not have the border problems we do now. Iraq allows, encourages, and even helps people to enter and exit from its borders and still expects the Iranian revolution to be confined to Iranian territory. All its efforts are expended in trying to bridle the Iranian revolution here in the center of the Islamic Republic of Iran and to prevent its spread. Of course, the Iranian revolution is genuinely Godly. It is not merchandise to be exported. But the Iranian revolution will spread. Iraq's efforts are futile. This process is not artificial. This is an internal matter, a matter of beliefs. Iraq's attempts may postpone its spread a little. But it will spread and one day the Iraqi government will explode. When that day will be cannot be predicted.

HELICOPTER PROPOSED TO SERVE FUTURE DEFENSE NEEDS

Tel Aviv MA'ARAKHOT in Hebrew Feb 80 pp 6-9

[Article, first of three in this issue: "The Attack Helicopter and Defense Objectives"]

[Text] The profile of war is a subject mired in controversy, and it is difficult to find agreement about it. But we must consider the possibility, as we examine the profile of war as the basis for developing the military, that the IDF will have to fight in a very difficult situation. It must, therefore, be built in such a way as to stand up to such conditions and assure that in its time of trial, it will be the one to determine the course of the war. Emerging from this assumption is a war profile in which the IDF is taken by surprise, its reserve forces, the major part of the IDF, have not yet been called up, and battles are breaking out on several fronts at once.

The Next War in the Eyes of the Arabs

Ever since the Yom Kippur War, Arab publications have been enlarging on the possibility that another war will break out. Many Arab commentators have been trying to analyze events of 1973, learn lessons from them, and draw the scenario of the next war. Most of the scenarios emphasize the following points:

--Surprise: Just as Israel was taken by surprise in the past, so it can be surprised in the future.

--Concentration of forces: Israel bases its strength on its reserves. We must, therefore, strike immediately at the beginning of the war with the greatest possible force, before Israel can recruit its full forces.

--Relations with political powers are working to the advantage of the Arabs: Israel is limited in its activities while the Arabs enjoy a freedom of political activity which stems from their control over oil supplies. This freedom will allow the Arabs to carry out a limited military operation whose objective is: "disturbance of the faith in the doctrine of Israeli security by some kind of conquest in the region."

The Syrian JAYSH AL-SHA'B of November 1977 describes it as follows: "Two clear facts have emerged from the events of October 1973 in the Middle East: the great effectiveness of the antitank missiles and the surprise attack of the Arabs which confused the Israelis. There is no doubt that in the future, this kind of surprise attack, which deceived Israeli and American intelligence, must be uppermost in the thoughts of the attacking nation." In another Syrian publication (AL-MAJALLAH AL-'ASKARIYAH, November 1976), the following was said on the same subject: "The October War represented a very important landmark in the Middle East conflict, and its lessons represented a turning point in the development of the Arab armies. To date, 3 years after the war, it is up to the Arabs to effect these changes by means of training and troop exercises before the next round; from the point of view of consequences for the region, the October War was a tie and did not bring about a decisive victory. As long as there is no decisive victory in Palestine, these rounds of war will continue." The Arab commentator al-Ayyubi, in his talk published in the Lebanese AL-USBU' AL-'ARABI of October 1977, also agrees that it is possible to repeat the surprise element in the Yom Kippur War. "Perhaps Israel will be caught off guard as it was on Yom Kippur because Israel believes that the Arabs are again not united and incapable of deciding to wage another war."

How will the Arabs carry out their assault? The Syrian AL-MAJALLAH AL-'ASKARIYAH (16 November 1976) sees a massive attack operation whose purpose will be to saturate the battlefield with arms and manpower. This attack will be based on armor and boosted by tactical surprise of time and place. The armor and the Syrian [armored infantry] would have air cover based in antiaircraft guns and missiles which would advance together quickly with the land forces. The English commentator, Steven Rosen, emphasizes (in a study published in the publication INTERNATIONAL SECURITY No 2, 1978) that "the 1973 war demonstrated that the combination of land-to-air missiles and antiaircraft guns like the SA-2, SA-3, SA-6, SA-7 and ZSU-23x4 can cause many losses and lessen the effectiveness of air power which is trying to aid the land forces and/or can work to disrupt the enemy's ranks. Short range antiaircraft missiles like the Stinger, the Blowpipe and the SA-7 will be used in large quantities in the fifth war." The Syrian AL-MAJALLAH AL-'ASKARIYAH emphasizes this point: "The Syrian army must cancel out the Israeli air superiority and limit the fighting to two dimensions only."

What will be the outcome of the Arab assault? The Arabs themselves know that a "final" victory over Israel is not yet within their reach. But, "as long as the Arabs, in contrast to Israel, enjoy political freedom which allows them to carry out hostile acts, their tactical capability is superior to Israel's conventional strength (JAYSH AL-SHA'B, 16 November 1977). The British commentator, Rosen, develops the argument that the next Middle East war will have a political rather than a military character. "It is worth pointing out that if the Arabs decide to go to war, it is reasonable to assume that it won't be out of a calculation to achieve decisive

victory.... One can expect that the Arabs will seek a few local victories in specific campaigns.... They can rely on the fact that the great powers will bring about a ceasefire to prevent the total destruction of the Arab armies. The professional military men... will be forceful in demanding limited and attainable war objectives which will give them credit for future bargaining."

And, more specifically, the Arab armies will develop their strategy "around a number of symbolic objectives. Such goals as the following are likely to be included: ...conquest again of the slopes of the Hermon or the hills near Qunaytirah; bombing of Dimona; or even some specific and minor but symbolic penetration beyond the green line. It doesn't matter if the victory is great or permanent. What is important is the feeling that the Arabs are advancing, however slowly.'

A Preemptive Strike

It is generally accepted, as leaders in Israel and high-ranking officers in the IDF have said, that Israel cannot afford to lose territory in a war, because, apart from the blow to morale that such an event would bring, every lost piece of territory would be a bargaining card in the political negotiations after the war.

This approach suggests the possibility of solving the problem of loss of territory through the option of a preemptive strike. The Arabs, like various observers outside of Israel, are aware of the fact that Israel, if it can spot signs of an approaching Arab attack, is likely to strike a preemptive blow. However, given international pressures, there are those who are doubtful about Israel's ability to decide to make a preemptive strike. In the Lebanese publication AL-USBU' AL-'ARABI (11 July 1977), the argument is presented that Israel will not be able to start a war, stick with it, and achieve positive results if the United States does not agree. The United States will not agree, for fear that the war would hurt its own interests. Every additional piece of territory conquered by Israel will create new security problems, and will arouse international public opinion. For the world demands a retreat from the territories captured in 1967. This kind of aggression will also bring into play the weapons of oil which could result in the Western world being brought to economic collapse." The British commentator, Rosen, believes that, in contrast to what happened in 1973, in the future, when the opening of the next round of war is certain, it is likely that "Israel will have to adopt the strategy of the first blow," but, in any case, it is reasonable to assume that the Arabs will try to open with an attack "in an effort to achieve both strategic and tactical surprise."

The accepted way of dealing with this kind of problem is to set up a strong line of defense based on obstacles and powerful forces which will stand ever ready to stop the enemy. But such a line of defense calls

for a deployment of forces in the area to man the defenses. From Israel's vantage point of the "few against the many," where the major part of the fighting force of the IDF is located most of the year behind the lines and where the emergency fighters are also everyday citizens engaged in economics, industry, and agriculture between wars, it is not possible to maintain permanent forces which can stop a massive attack.

As a result of this, there is a need for advance warning which will allow them to call up the reserves. But the intelligence service warning, which is the logical one in such a situation, did not stand the test of reality in the past, and I believe that it is likely to fail in the future as well. In any case, I prefer that we prepare for the worst possibility from our perspective, and that is that we will fail once again. The concept of a massive line of defense has not proven itself in the past, nor do I recommend it as a solution for the future. Thus, in approaching the subject of developing the IDF and deciding about the proper balance between various types of fighting apparatus, we must develop a deterrent force which will keep the enemy from attaining its goals which are the following: swift control of territory, disruption of processes for organizing defenses as well as for organizing for attack.

The Answer--The Attack Helicopter

The Israeli Air Force can respond to the problem of defending the rear. It is the job of the interception system of the army. It can also, in my opinion, adapt itself to the demands for defense on the front. The deterrent force on the front must be a force with high mobility, a capability for destroying armored forces and for surviving, and all of this under front-line conditions. A look at the characteristics of the war equipment existing in the IDF today points to the fact that with such a profile, it would not do to base it on land forces which would be on the front line in time of surprise. And it would also be hard to base it on air power since the major part of this force will be busy defending the rear and preparing for attack. The cost of air restraint by means of attack planes for close support is high compared to the benefits, and there also exists the possibility that bad weather conditions would limit their potential activity.

The Attack Helicopter Is the Answer to the Problem of a Primary Restraint for Israel

The appearance of the helicopter altered the traditional clear-cut division of transport by land, water or air. It added a fourth to the above three dimensions--the hovering dimension. The hovering dimension differs from the three traditional dimensions in every respect. It gives the helicopter ability to wage a different contest depending on the features of the area and the existing field conditions in a modern war. By being,

in essence, an instrument of flight, its advantage over the tank lies in its high mobility without having to depend on the passability of the territory, in its ability to lift up to a height which allows it a wide and deep field of vision, and by its skill in assuming different positions very rapidly. Its advantages over the plane are seen in its ability to fly at low altitudes (5 feet), at different speeds appropriate to the area, in its ability to hover and make use of the landscape and the cover to hide and to carry out ambushes, in its ability to stay at the front for long periods, to refuel, to be equipped in the area and thus remain in the battle zone without time limits, to remain near the forces, to receive (and transmit) the latest intelligence information, and to remain in direct communication with every element on the battlefield. In the absence of land forces (with whom it works), the helicopter can even operate independently.

In the past, it was assumed that the helicopter was vulnerable, and would not have a place on the modern battlefield. The myth of the vulnerable helicopter was already destroyed during the Six-Day War when helicopters carried out four major strike missions during the days of fighting, dozens of recovery missions from within enemy territory and from active battle zones, and hundreds of missions for the evacuation of wounded from the battlefield, and all of this without losing a single helicopter. And in the course of the war of attrition, dozens of missions were carried out across the border, and not a single helicopter was destroyed. And in the battles mentioned, the technique of ground contour flight (NOE) did not yet exist. This technique represents one of the major factors adding unequivocally to the survival capacity of the helicopter. The Vietnam War, in which thousands of missions were carried out by helicopter, serves frequently as an example of the low survival of the helicopter on the battlefield. But the facts about this war show an entirely different picture.

Helicopters and Fixed Wing Planes

Year	Combat flights/ Attacks/ Strikes/ Suspension charge	Heli- copter losses	Ratio of losses to flights	Combat flights	Plane losses	Ratio of losses to flights	Ratio of losses in favor of heli- copters	Comments
1966	1,293,887	123	1:10,519	170,780	69	1:2,475	1:4.25	End of the bomb- ings in the north
1967	2,324,949	260	1:8,942	226,156	73	1:3,098	1:2.8	
1968	3,368,711	496	1:6,791	281,686	107	1:2,632	1:2.58	
1969	3,538,990	459	1:7,710	257,209	68	1:3,782	1:2.03	
1970	2,956,230	417	1:7,089	131,464	29	1:4,333	1:1.56	
1971	1,567,427	230	1:6,814	39,457	17	1:2,321	1:2.93	
Total	15,050,194	1,985	1:7,581	1106,752	363	1:3,048	1:2.48	

Explanations:

The data in the foregoing table were taken from the numbers of missions recorded in the book, "The Air War in Indochina," pp 267-272. The number of missions was listed in the book under the heading, South Vietnam (that is, not including North Vietnam). I am assuming that this number represents the total number of missions carried out in Southeast Asia. The number of losses recorded in the book is divided into South Vietnam and North Vietnam. In the calculations, the ratio of missions (listed only for South Vietnam) to losses is only for South Vietnam. If the calculation had been done for losses of both North and South Vietnam, the ratio would be even more favorable for helicopters because helicopter losses in North Vietnam were insignificant because the number of flights was insignificant there. At the same time, losses of attack planes in the North were great as the following data show:

Year	Helicopter losses		Losses of attack planes		Comments
	South Vietnam	North Vietnam	South Vietnam	North Vietnam	
1966	123	1	69	280	
1967	260	4	73	326	
1968	496	2	107	141	{ End of the bombings in the north
1969	459	-	68	2	
1970	417	-	29	4	
1971	230	-	17	6	

Explanations:

Key dates.

End of 1968: Cessation of bombings in North Vietnam by the Americans.

End of 1973: Ceasefire.

End of 1975: Evacuation of the Americans from Vietnam

It turns out that a judicious use of the helicopter's advantages earns it a very high grade in terms of capacity for survival on the battlefield. The helicopter can fly low (under 50 feet) and slowly. It is also able to hover, to hide, and to make use of all kinds of features of the land and cover. This skill allows it to defend itself against heavy missiles and antitank armor coming from any direction. The helicopter can also hide, hover or slow down. This ability makes it possible for it to reveal the enemy and receive exact intelligence at the right time and to remain outside the region of light antiaircraft and to keep the enemy from discovering it.

The appearance of the long-range antitank missile allowed the helicopter to remain outside the danger zone (far away and low) but still influence the battlefield, and turned it into a lethal piece of equipment against the armored forces of the enemy. The combination of all these qualities, added to the capacity to carry out all the goals of restraint in a flight over our territory, turns the helicopter, under the conditions reigning in Israel, into a primary restraint for the IDF.

Helicopters on the Modern Battlefield

In looking at the helicopters which exist today in the armies of the world, we need to differentiate between two configurations: the heavy attack helicopter, armed with antitank missiles, a 20 mm gun, a 7.62 minigun, rockets, a 40 mm gun, and the light attack helicopter (antitank helicopter) armed only with antitank missiles. In Israel, the heavy helicopter is modeled after the Cobra of Bell Co.

Belonging to the heavy class are the YAH-64 (made by the Hughes Co), the future attack helicopter of the U.S. Army, the German-French PAH-2 (still in the planning stage), and the Augusta 129. The light helicopter is represented in Israel by the 500 MD of the Hughes Co. Also belonging there are the German BO-105 and the French Gazelle. The two approaches are being tested in the area. The parameters being tested now include: firepower, maneuverability, weight, cost, and so forth.

The Cobra helicopter which is now in our hands, is armed with 8 TOW missiles with a range of 3.57 km, a 20 mm gun with an effective range of 1,400 meters, rockets, a 400 gun, and a 7.62 minigun.

The mode of operation of the helicopters should be like the one proposed by the Americans. Colonel Miller of the U.S. Army proposes, in his article, "Air Superiority at the Height of the Treetops" (Cyclon 5, November 1979), a fit between reconnaissance helicopters, whose job is to pinpoint targets, and escort helicopters which will secure the battlefield and allow the attack helicopters to attack the armored forces of the enemy.

Low altitude flight is one of the chief components in the high survival capacity of the helicopter. In a ground contour flight, the problem of navigation is difficult and compounded when battle conditions make things even more difficult.

In order to give the attack helicopter a free hand on the front, the pilots have to know the area in which they are flying. The U.S. Army, which worries about restraining the masses of armored forces of the "Warsaw Pact" stretched along the border of the two Germanies, is attempting to apply a solution to fit the A-10 planes on the mainland (see MA'ARAKHOT, 269). These planes, which are designated to destroy

enemy armored forces, have areas set aside for them from the outset. Every pilot practices, usually on a specific section, until he knows it well. In this way, the specific area becomes the pilot's "home base." He knows every tree and bush, and if he is sent out over targets in the area, he can find his way immediately without needing navigation or even communication. This kind of solution applies also to the operation of attack helicopters. Proper cooperation during the practice sessions with the forces in the area will also bring about a close relationship between the forces and the pilots in the squadron. The personal acquaintanceship and the shared language which will be developed contribute a lot to the consolidation of a powerful restraining force.

In summary: The special conditions of Israel which is fighting a battle of the few against the many require the establishment of a deterrent force which is mobile, has high survival capacity and can destroy armor. The attack helicopter is one of the most significant solutions to this challenge.

Just as the interceptor plane is the deterrent and defender of the rear, so is the antitank helicopter the primary deterrent force on the front. Thus, the contribution of the antitank helicopter to the front is like the contribution of the interceptor plane in the rear.

After the next war, when the statisticians relate and summarize the contribution of each force and section to the victory, it will be clear that while the major destroyer of tanks is still the tank gun, the primary deterrent force is the attack helicopter. It will prevent the enemy from conquering territory, allow the IDF to get organized, and allow the transfer of tank guns to take place. It will allow the air force to organize its attack and the interceptor force to defend the skies of the nation and attack the enemy on its territory.

9348
CSO: 4805

POLL SURVEYS VIEWS ON EMIGRATION

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 15 Aug 80 pp 1, 2

[Text] The inclination toward emigration from Israel has increased about 1 percent since May. Of the total Jewish population aged 18 and over, 6.9 percent declare that they consider themselves candidates for emigration, and another 4.9 percent say they "might" emigrate. Overall, therefore, 11.8 percent are considering emigration. In May (HA'ARETZ, 16 May 1980), 10.9 percent declared that they wanted to emigrate. These are the findings of the nationwide public opinion poll of the Pori Institute sponsored by HA'ARETZ. To the question, "Do you or do you not consider yourself a candidate for emigration?" 6.9 percent answered yes, and another 4.9 percent answered maybe, which makes a total of 11.8 percent of the adult population.

Prominent among those declaring that they would definitely emigrate are younger persons, aged 18 to 29 (11.8 percent), native-born Israelis (9.8 percent), persons in academic and managerial occupations (8.6 percent), persons with below-average incomes (8.4 percent), persons with better education (8.0 percent), and persons of Asian or African origin (7.7 percent).

Of those polled, 38.6 percent said that they knew "people who intend to emigrate"; 18.8 percent have close relatives--sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, parents--who have emigrated, and another 5.6 percent have close relatives who intend to emigrate. That is to say, members of 24.4 percent of Israeli families have either emigrated or intend to emigrate.

Prominent among those declaring that close relatives had emigrated were long-time (pre-State) residents, persons with better education, persons in academic occupations, and white-collar workers.

But the majority of the public does not approve of emigration. To the additional question, "Do you or do you not approve of emigration?", 68.7 percent answered no, while 22.1 percent answered yes. Another 5.2 percent said that approval or disapproval depended on the circumstances in each individual case. The remaining 4.2 percent had no opinion.

The director of the study, Pori manager Rafael Gil, points out that especially prominent among those approving of emigration are younger persons, aged 18 to 29 (31.2 percent), persons of Asian or African origin (27.4 percent), and manual workers (26.4 percent).

The poll covered a representative sample of 1,200 men and women who were interviewed personally in their homes in all areas of the country, with full preservation of privacy.

9045

CSO: 4805

BRIEFS

DECLINE IN INVESTMENTS--In the first half of 1980 there was an actual decline in investments of about 20 percent. The decline is showing itself also in the implementation of investments and in long-range planning of investments. According to data of the investment center of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Tourism, the total number of investment programs submitted for approval declined 31 percent. The number of new projects submitted for approval declined from 70 last year to only 44 this year. There was a more moderate decline in approvals of investment on additions to, and enlargements of existing projects, where there has been a 14 percent decline since the beginning of the year. Data on the import of investment equipment and the domestic manufacture of such equipment also indicate that in the first quarter of 1980 there was a decline of 10.2 percent. It is estimated that in the second quarter the slowdown in import and domestic manufacture of investment equipment increased, and that the actual decline in this branch will reach 20 percent compared to the same period last year. In the first 5 months of this year there was also a decline in the number of development loans approved and implemented, amounting to 25 percent. The deputy general manager of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Tourism, Avraham Asheri, reported that the causes of the investment slowdown are the indexing of development loans, the credit freeze, and the prevailing uncertainty concerning the condition of the domestic market. Mr Asheri said that the decline in investments must give concern to those who are planning on an increase in exports in the coming years. He pointed out that in the long run, an increase in exports and a change in imports are possible only through the implementation of new investments, and that there is no doubt that the major portion of the accelerated growth of exports this year is due to the maturing of investments of recent years. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 3 Aug 80 p 7] 9045

POLL ON TERRORISM--Two-thirds of the Israeli public is opposed to a terror-against-terror system in the hands of nongovernment Jewish organizations, while one-fourth of the public supports such activity; this was learned from a nationwide public opinion poll of the Pori Institute sponsored by HA'ARETZ. To the question, "Do you favor or oppose a Jewish terrorist system in the hands of nongovernment Jewish organizations as a

reaction to hostile activities of the Arabs of the Occupied Areas?" 67.4 percent answered no, while 23.9 percent answered yes. Another 2.1 percent were ready to support terror-against-terror under specific conditions, such as: if only those who injure us are injured, if this is the only way to put an end to Arab terror, and depending on world reaction. The remaining 6.6 percent had no opinion on the subject. The director of the study, Pori manager Rafael Gil, points out that support for the terror-against-terror system was especially high (32.4 percent) among persons of Asian or African origin, in contrast to 16.4 percent of persons of European or American origin. Greater opposition was recorded among persons of better education, persons in academic and managerial occupations, and long-time residents of Israel. Within these population levels, opposition to Jewish terror was close to 80 percent. The poll covered a representative sample of 1,200 men and women in their homes in all areas of the country, with full preservation of privacy. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 12 Aug 80 p 3] 9045

PEACE POLL--A plurality of the Israeli public (47.8 percent) is of the opinion that the Begin government is not qualified to complete the peace-making process; this was learned from a nationwide public opinion poll of the Pori Institute sponsored by HA'ARETZ. A response of 34.6 percent indicated that the government is qualified. Another 6.8 percent said that the matter depends on particular factors, such as what the Arab position will be, whether the government will remain in power for another term, the state of Mr Begin's health, and whether the Begin government will be more flexible and less fanatical in its positions. The remaining 10.8 percent had no opinion. Prominent among those who consider the Begin government unqualified are persons with better education (55.4 percent), persons in managerial and academic occupations (56.1 percent), persons of higher income (55.2 percent), persons of European and American origin (56.3 percent), and long-time (pre-State) residents (51.5 percent). The poll covered a representative sample of 1,200 men and women. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 11 Aug 80 p 3] 9045

POLL ON PRIME MINISTER--A majority (52 percent) of the Israeli public is of the opinion that Prime Minister Menahem Begin cannot continue in office in the present state of his health, it is reported in a national public opinion poll of Pori Institute sponsored by HA'ARETZ; 35 percent said that he was able to continue; 2.4 percent said that the matter depended on the actions of the other government ministers, "if they don't aggravate him," and on the decisions of the physicians; and 10.4 percent had no opinion. Prominent among those believing that the prime minister is unable to continue in office are persons in academic and managerial occupations, of whom 59.1 percent held this opinion; persons with higher income (59 percent); persons with better education (55.6 percent); and persons of European or American origin (58.3 percent). Prominent among those believing that he is able to continue are persons of Asian and African origin (41.9 percent), persons with less education (40 percent), and persons aged 18-29 (38.2 percent). The poll covered a representative sample of 1,200 men and women. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 4 Aug 80 p 3] 9045

POLL ON WEIZMAN--A majority of the Israeli public (53.7 percent) would like Ezer Weizman to return to the post of minister of defense; this was learned from a nationwide public opinion poll of the Pori Institute sponsored by HA'ARETZ. Another 33.1 percent do not want him in this post; 2.2 percent said that they would like to see Weizman back at his post, but "not in this government"; the remaining 11 percent had no opinion. Prominent among those wanting Weizman to return were persons of low income (60.0 percent), manual workers (59.3 percent) and persons of Asian and African origin (58.3 percent). Prominent among those not wanting him to return were persons with better education (40.7 percent) and in academic and managerial occupations (40.9 percent). Women favored Weizman's return (60.3 percent) much more than men (47.2 percent). The poll covered a representative sample of 1,200 men and women. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 6 Aug 80 p 3] 9045

CSG: 4805

LEBANON-ARAB LEAGUE DIFFERENCES REVIVED OVER ABORTIVE KLIBI VISIT

LD1H1557 Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'ANN in Arabic 16 Sep 80 p 1, 19

[Fatin Hamawi report: "Acute Crisis Between Lebanon and the Arab League: Lebanese Foreign Ministry Refuses To Receive Chedli Klibi"]

[Excerpts] Beirut--A dispute between the Lebanese authorities and the Arab League has resulted in Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi's being prevented from visiting Lebanon.

This was confirmed in one way or another by official sources in Beirut. AL-RA'Y AL-'ANN is certain that the secretary general was indeed prevented from going to Lebanon last Thursday.

The details so far available on this subject, whispered in Arab diplomatic circles, are as follows:

Last Thursday night, the Lebanese foreign ministry received a cable to the effect that Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi was on his way to Beirut by air. A few minutes later, it was discovered that Klibi's plane, which was expected at Beirut airport, did not land but proceeded eastward and landed in Damascus. The departments concerned began inquiring what had happened. It transpired that Foreign Minister Fu'ad Butrus had instructed officials to cancel Klibi's visit because relations with the Arab League were not very good. Everybody was surprised by this behavior, which led to a crisis. Mediation to resolve the crisis have failed so far, in view of the fact that Minister Butrus's decision came in the wake of a violent Lebanese political and propaganda campaign against the Arab League. The campaign started especially when the PLO called for an emergency meeting of the joint Arab Defense Council. The Lebanese Foreign Ministry strongly objected to convening the defense council on the pretext that the PLO, by calling for the council meeting, was encroaching on the Lebanese Foreign Ministry's jurisdiction and interfering in Lebanon's affairs.

Lebanese political and PLO officials were waiting for the Arab League secretary general last Thursday when it was discovered that he would not be arriving in Beirut. Soon afterward, late on Thursday night, PLO executive

committee chairman Yasir 'Arafat left for Damascus and met Klibi, contrary to news sources' belief and to Lebanese official information media broadcasts. 'Arafat returned early Friday morning. This crisis related to Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi's visit to Lebanon has led to the reemergence of Arab-Lebanese disputes over the role of the Arab League, the role of the Arab states in helping Lebanon and the Lebanese official attitude to developments in the area.

Before Chedli Klibi was due to visit Beirut, an intensive campaign was launched against Klibi's envoy to Lebanon Hammadi al-Sayd. Lebanese official circles accuse the Arab League of failing in its duty to Lebanon and of failing to make tangible efforts to resolve the Lebanese crisis in a serious manner. Certain information media linked to official circles on the one hand and to the Phalangist Party on the other also accused the Arab League of plotting against Lebanon and encouraging Palestinian armed presence in Lebanon.

CSO: 4802

QATAR

BRIEFS

PLO SILENCE ON CONFLICT--AL-RAYAH has been informed by well-informed Palestinian sources that Yasir 'Arafat has instructed Palestinian officials and representatives abroad not to make any statements on the Iraqi-Iranian war. The sources attribute these instructions to 'Arafat's desire to perform his mission silently and without highlighting the Palestinian role so this role will not be misinterpreted or distorted. [Text] [GF281709 Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 27 Sep 80 p 1]

CSO: 4802

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM SEEN AS INCREASING PROSPECTS FOR BALANCED DEVELOPMENT

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 26 Jul 80 p 28

[Article by Fath al-Rahman Mahjub: "The Sudan Begins Political Decentralization Experiment! Division of the Country Into Six Provinces With Separate Governments and Assemblies; Development of Sudanese Transportation to Accompany New Political and Administrative Changes"]

[Text] The Sudanese National People's Assembly has passed some new constitutional amendments with the approval of the president. According to these amendments, the country will be divided into five regions, in addition to the southern region which gained autonomy in 1972. Each region will become autonomous with its own regional government and legislative assembly. With this move, Sudan has voluntarily chosen to change from a centralized state to a federation of six units--a remarkable step in a world in which slogans of unity contend with slogans of partition among the citizens of the same nation.

But what will this renunciation of centralized government lead to?

This question came up as soon as the decision-makers started working on a formula to establish the Sudan's internal borders and define the characteristics and boundaries of its various economic, administrative and political structures at the regional level. Moreover, this took place at a time when factors for unity and reconciliation were being much discussed, especially at the national level.

Now, six new regions are being established based on the constitution. Originally, there were to have been five regions: a western region, a northern region, an eastern region and a central region, in addition to the existing southern region. However, the proposed western region leaned toward division into two sections, probably due to historical and emotional considerations embraced by the inhabitants of the region when the issue was raised before the national conference of the Sudanese Socialist Union early this year. Thus, the proposed western region became two regions, Darfur and Kordufan.

The constitutional amendments stipulate that "the establishment of regional government shall not involve any encroachment on the unity of the Sudan or its economy, the freedom of movement of citizens and of services and goods by rail, or the national government's conduct of affairs relating to sovereignty, national defense, national security, foreign affairs and other areas of responsibility defined by law." Moreover, the provisions of national legislation take precedence over regional legislation "to an extent which eliminates any conflict between them."

In response to a question by AL-MUSTAQBAL, Minister of Culture and Information Dr Isma'il al-Haj Musa stated that regional government compounds and augments the responsibility of existing organizations to maintain contact with the masses on both the local and national levels through all cultural and informational channels "in order to reinforce common national feeling and strengthen the fabric of national unity." This is because the division of a country into regions out of economic and administrative necessity can produce the opposite results if racial or tribal prejudices are awakened.

The main forces which influence the Sudanese do not fit into the framework of the traditional kinds of conflicts which develop within a state of equilibrium--conflicts involving peripheral considerations ranging from economic factors all the way to foreign influence which generates conflicts between Copts and Moslems, Arabs and non-Arabs, and Sunnis and Shiites.

Perhaps it is this fact which prompted Isma'il al-Haj Musa to follow up his emphasis on the importance of coordinating the impact of communication, which ties the different regions of the Sudan together, by stressing the need "to develop and stimulate local cultures so that they can play their full roles in fashioning the Sudanese national culture."

This diversity on the geographical map of the Sudan is accompanied by a great disparity in physical appearance, tastes, means of livelihood, and modes of thought and behaviour. For example, the Sudan includes representatives of all the major language groups in Africa, with the exception of the (Xhosa) language group of South Africa. There are about 500 local languages which belong to these main language groups, and these are united by a single common language, which is Arabic. The use of Arabic in this role extends even to the southern region, which colonialism sought for a long time to dissociate from the north which has been more influenced by Arabic and Islam.

Whether the reasons for the conflict which compelled Sudan to adopt regional administration are primarily economic, social or historical in nature, a regionalization process must be accompanied by material safeguards in order to become a motive for unity and cohesion--aside from giving each region the opportunity to pursue its own course in developing its resources and culture and governing itself within the general framework. Perhaps one of these safeguards is the strengthening of the means of communication at the technical level--the areas have been connected by a microwave and ground satellite system for some time--as well as developing the means of transportation.

The vastness of the areas of the country, the low population density and the inadequacy of the means of transportation have helped to maintain those differences which have characterized Sudan's regions. Authorized sources in the Ministry of Transportation told AL-MUSTAQBAL that work is now in progress on the development of the means of transportation to go along with the new political and administrative changes, especially since the demands of the big development projects constitute a burden on the transportation capacity at a time when complete balance in the overall distribution of these projects throughout the regions has not yet been fully achieved. This is one of the reasons which have made these projects a national treasure which is not the sole possession of the region in which specific projects are established.

8591

CSO: 4802

TUNISIA

BOURGUIBA CALLS SPECIAL SESSION OF CONGRESS IN 1981

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 5 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "President Bourguiba Sets the Party's Special Congress for Spring 1981"]

[Text] President Bourguiba met with Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali yesterday morning at the Essaada Palace in La Marsa; after the meeting, Mzali made the following statement:

"Because of the importance that the supreme combattant places on the next decade for the decisive orientation of the country towards economic prosperity and socio-cultural progress, and in order to assure real invulnerability, as the next 5-year plan is important in this program, and considering the chief of state's concern to have the party cadres think along the lines of this plan, President Bourguiba has decided to call a special session of Congress of the Destourien Socialist Party for the spring of 1981.

"The main goal of this congress is to study the major elements of the 5-year plan as well as the means by which this plan will meet with psychological and human success, so that Tunisia might reach a new level on its way to realizing its developmental objectives during the next decade."

9572

CSO: 4400

TUNISIA

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED FOLLOWING ITALIAN MINISTER'S VISIT

Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE in French 3 Sep 80 pp 1,4

[Article: "Toward Re-examination of the Cooperation in Fishing Matters"]

[Text] Following Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Emilio Colombo's visit to Tunisia, this communique was published:

In response to Tunisia's Minister of Foreign Affairs Hassan Belkhoja's invitation, Emilio Colombo made an official and friendly visit to Tunisia from 31 August 2 September 1980.

Mr Colombo had an audience with His Excellence Habib Bourguiba, president of the Republic of Tunisia. He met with Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali.

During the conversations, which took place in an atmosphere of warm friendship and of mutual confidence, the two ministers and their collaborators proceeded to an exchange of exhaustive views on bilateral agreements and international questions of common interest. They gave particular attention to the promotion of bilateral relations, expressed their satisfaction concerning their efficient development, as well as with their collaboration in all areas. They agreed to a more involved Italian participation in the Tunisian development effort of the Sixth Plan. They also agreed to promote industrial cooperation between the two countries, thereby favoring a technological transfer.

An ad hoc committee will meet in the near future to study the different aspects of financial cooperation between the two countries: the amount, means of payment, and conditions.

--Tunisia Must Keep its Interests in Mind While Negotiations for the Enlargement of the CEE (Communaute Economique Europeenne) Goes On

The two ministers also agreed that a mixed group of experts would meet during the month of October 1980 to examine the new basis of cooperation between the two countries in fishing matters.

The two ministers also examined the problems of Tunisian nationals in Italy and Italian nationals in Tunisia, and agreed that negotiations would begin as soon as possible towards conclusion of an agreement on social security and a convention on manpower.

The commission appointed 16 May 1979 will meet to examine the results of the work of sectorial committees already cited and to adopt the necessary decisions early in 1981 in Rome.

The two ministers closely studied the relationships of Tunisia with the EEC and agreed upon an efficient course of action which would permit Tunisian agricultural and industrial products to be sold more easily throughout the Common Market. The two parties also agreed that it is of the utmost importance to take Tunisian interests into consideration during negotiations concerning the expansion of the Community.

The two ministers then proceeded to an exchange of views on the most important international problems.

Their exchange of views resulted in great agreement on most of the questions discussed. The two ministers thus decided to intensify the rhythm of their political consultations in the future.

--Middle-Eastern Conflict: Toward a Global Solution

The discussions dealt especially with the multiplication of crisis areas in the world, especially in the Mediterranean, in the Middle East, in Africa and in Asia, and on the current deterioration of the international climate.

The two parties agreed on the necessity to bring about peaceful solutions to the conflicts, all the while fully respecting the rights of both the peoples and the countries to peace, as well as to the independence and sovereign choice of means of development protected from all foreign intervention or meddling.

As for the Mediterranean, the two parties indicated the price they attach to the maintenance of stability and security in this region. In this respect, they emphasized that security and cooperation of Europe. This is why they feel it is necessary to pursue dialog between Europe and the Mediterranean border countries which did not sign the Helsinki pact.

The two parties hope then, that the Mediterranean non-European countries can play their due role during the next meeting in Madrid.

The two ministers also agreed that Tunisia and Italy will take the same stance on bilateral and multilateral affairs in the fight against pollution and for the ecological protection of the Mediterranean.

Closely examining the Middle East situation, the two parties reaffirmed the necessity to reach a global solution for this conflict which would consider

all the essential aspects of the problem and which would recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people for self-determination, and would demand Israel's retreat from all 1967 occupied Arab Territories, including Jerusalem, on the basis of pertinent UN resolution principles.

They denounce any unilateral action which aims to modify the statute of Jerusalem.

The two ministers emphasized that the Palestinian question, which constitutes the essence of the Near East crisis, should be resolved with the participation of the PLO at the negotiations.

The two ministers also expressed their uneasiness over the event in Central Asia, particularly the latest developments in Afghanistan, which brought a serious blow to the politics of detente and which could lead to grave dangers for international peace. They feel that it is important, in order to resolve this crisis, to scrupulously respect pertinent UN resolutions and the principles of the UN Charter.

As for the situation in Southern Africa, the two ministers congratulated one another on Zimbabwe's independence and repeated their condemnation of apartheid politics and racial discrimination in South Africa and Namibia.

In addition, the two parties emphasized the importance they attach to European-Arab dialog, and agreed that they greatly hope to pursue this form of regional cooperation and to confirm all the components, including the political dimensions. In this respect it was decided that Italy and Tunisia should make a concerted effort to give this dialog new verve.

The two ministers expressed their satisfaction with the results of the visit. Mr Colombo expressed his gratitude for the warm reception and traditionally friendly hospitality he received during his stay in Tunisia. He invited the Tunisian Minister of Foreign Affairs Hassan Belkhoja to make a similar official visit to Italy. This invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit will be fixed at a later time.

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CSO: 4400

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DATE FILMED

October 10, 1980

D.S.